2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

PREFACE

The Sanpoil and Nespelem, like other Indians of the north central Plateau, never became parties to any treaty with the United States. They were virtually ignored by the government and have been accorded little attention by others. They remained in their old habitats and lived their old life, despite encroachments by whites, until 1872. At that time a reservation was set aside for them and they were gradually concentrated upon it. The original bounds of the reservation were the Columbia river on the south and the east, the international boundary on the north and the Okanogan river on the west. Subsequently the northern half of this area was subtracted. The remaining natives still occupy the southern half.

The present study was begun in the summer of 1928; the expenses of that trip were defrayed by myself. Several subsequent visits were made, the last during the summer of 1930. All of these were under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington.

A number of myths and folk tales were obtained in conjunction with the ethnographic material. They are being published independently in the Journal of American Folk-Lore. Material also was gathered relating to a native messianic movement called the Kolaskin Cult. This data likewise has not been included here but is being prepared as a separate paper which will probably appear as a journal article.

In late 1930 there appeared *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus*, in which Franz Boas compiled and edited the material gathered by James A. Teit many years earlier (1904, 1908, 1909). Teit treats the Sanpoil rather more summarily than most of the other groups he visited, yet he has a considerable amount of data of specifically Sanpoil origin. His work was not available in time for me to use it in the field. I have made but few item references to Teit's treatment for complete cross-referencing would have necessitated an objectionable number of footnotes. Moreover, in seeking information regarding these peoples both sources should always be consulted. Our information is at variance in several instances.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Dr. Erna Gunther for her help and kindness. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs for initial encouragement and continued stimulation. My further thanks are extended to Dr. Leslie Spier, to my wife and to many friends for assistance and suggestions. Mr. George Neville Jones and Martha Reekie Flahaut exerted painstaking efforts in identifying botanical specimens. Mr. Albert L. Seeman kindly placed at my disposal original meteorologic data.

The phonetic system here used is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled *Phonetic Transcription of American Indian Languages* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 66, No. 6, 1916), with the single exception that the Greek symbol gamma (γ) is

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

114 used to indicate the voiced spirant in *velar* position (rather than mid-palatal, as
194 recommended). This should cause no confusion for the corresponding mid-palatal sound is absent from the Sanpoil phonetic system.

101 To avoid ambiguity I have not translated a few of the group names where there is no accepted usage. These are: sməq̓aie'tkᵘ, the bands on the lower Okanogan river and vicinity, (called Sinkaietk by Walters); sməkā'lt, the people on the lower Spokane river (these have been called the Lower Spokane, but they are not affiliated with the true Spokane); and stske'tamixᵘ, a Wenatchi group six miles downriver from the present town of Wenatchee.

114 Throughout the first half of the paper the anecdotal material has been set in eight point type; in the second half, in ten point solid type. This change in style was necessitated by printing limitations. The numerous native names in the latter portion, requiring special characters, could be printed only in ten point type.

115 Three informants, John Tom, Bob Covington and William Burke, gave the bulk of the information here presented. John Tom was a shaman, the most prominent man in his profession and the foremost leader among his people in early reservation days. Tom was born about 1840 at Barry, on the Columbia river, as was his mother. His father was born near the present town of Lincoln, also on the Columbia. The old life was little disturbed before Tom reached manhood. He saw his first white man when an adolescent. While John was very young his father died of smallpox, probably the epidemic of 1846. But his mother lived to a very old age. John was the youngest of four boys and two girls, all of whom he outlived. He died on March 1, 1930, aged ninety or more years, the oldest member of his group. He had never learned English. Much further information about John Tom is scattered through the following pages.

Bob Covington was a sober, intelligent half-breed, well respected by his people. For many years he served as Indian policeman and interpreter for his people in dealings with the government. He was a willing worker and exceedingly obliging and hospitable. He interpreted for John Tom, and furnished much information himself. Covington died in July, 1930, at the age of about sixty-five.

William Burke, also a half-breed, was a younger man, perhaps forty-five (in 1930). His mother was still living and from her he got most of his information. He was something of an adventurer, which made much of his information the more valuable. Others who contributed information were: Kate Staples, a half-breed about sixty; Jim James, present chief of the Sanpoil; and Burke's mother.

Seattle, 1932

VERNE F. RAY

PREFACE

101 The Okanagon are a Salish speaking people of north central Washington and adjacent British Columbia. Their territory comprised the drainage system of the Okanogan River and the upper Methow River, both northern tributaries of the Columbia River, from Okanogan Lake and the Similkameen valley in British Columbia southward to the mouth of the Methow.

The subject of the present paper is the culture of those Okanagon bands which occupied the southern half of this territory, from the Methow northward to Osoyoos Lake immediately north of the Canadian boundary. Two tribal units may be distinguished among these bands: the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, occupying the lower Okanogan River valley, and the southern bands of Okanagon proper or, as we prefer to call them, the Northern Okanagon, situated above and below the international boundary. There are other Northern Okanagon bands wholly on the Canadian side with whom we had no contact.

The data we obtained relate in the first instance to the Sinkaietk or Southern Okanagon, but include much on the southerly bands of the Northern Okanagon, that is, those located about the boundary. In addition there are incidental notes on the Colville, Wenatchi, Methow, and other neighboring tribes.

The culture is that of a southern Plateau people, with moderate influences from the Northwest Coast. The Southern Okanagon bands differ culturally from those of British Columbia, and further possess appreciable individuality among themselves. The local differences seem in part due to Northwest Coast influences entering the area by three routes: through the Thompson tribe in the north, from the south by way of the Columbia River through Wenatchi and Chelan, and again through the Cholan from the Skagit on the western side of the Cascade range. This means that the central bands are culturally undistinguished in contrast to those north and south.

197 The language of the Okanagon is a dialect of Interior Salish identical with that of the Sanpoil, Nespelem, Colville, and Lakes (Senajextee) adjacent to the east. It is said to differ only slightly from the forms spoken by Wenatchi and Chelan to the south, the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreille, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead to the east, and the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap to the north.

● 114 This ethnographic study was made during July and August, 1930, by a group of grad-

114 uate students participating in a field training course of the Laboratory of Anthropology (Santa Fé, New Mexico) under my direction. The party comprised Miss Rachel S. Commons (of the University of Chicago), Miss May Mandelbaum (Columbia University), Emanuel Gonick (University of California), Walter Cline and Richard H. Post (Harvard University), who were joined by Miss L.V.W. Walters, financed by the University of Washington. A collection was made for the Washington State Museum (University of Washington), which has been used as the source of illustrations for this paper.

101 As a field for investigation for the group I hit on the Southern Okanagon. The
121 cultures of the southern Plateau in eastern Washington, Idaho, and western Montana have been neglected. It was, and is, my contention that the more typical forms of Plateau culture are to be found in the southern part of that area rather than in the north. Further, the solitary general ethnographic report published at the time, J. H. Spinden's "The Nez Percé Indians," tends to over-emphasize Plains elements, although these are demonstrably recent and superficial.

114 After a choice of tribe to be studied had been made, I received through the kindness of Dr. Franz Boas, a proof copy of James A. Teit's "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," which contains an account of the Okanagon. Since it appeared, however, that Teit's account was brief and that he had not obtained information from the Okanagon bands in Washington, it seemed wise to proceed with our plan. The results appear to justify the decision, for the culture of the American Okanagon was found appreciably different from that of the Canadian bands.

Since I felt that the training would be incomplete unless it included the preparation of a printable manuscript, each member of the party was requested to prepare a section of the general ethnographic account. This despite our awareness of the insufficiency of the data. Before we disbanded we discussed a suitable division of the material and reached an agreement on the manner of treatment. Actually, when it came to writing these sections, the authors saw fit to depart quite widely from the agreed form.

The several sections were allocated partly in accordance with preferences, partly by lot. All the field notes were then collected so that I might sort them by topics and dispatch them to the authors. It proved impracticable to send the whole set of notes or the finished manuscript to each in turn. Hence it fell to my lot as editor to scrut-

114 inize the full set of notes to see that nothing was missed. The whole procedure was awkward, and without doubt valuable details and interrelations of phases of culture have been lost in the process.

It must be distinctly understood that each author is responsible only for the presentation of his topic, not for the content with all its inconsistencies and gaps. I, too, must share this responsibility: I have added, deleted, and otherwise changed these manuscripts to a considerable extent, for the most part without consulting the authors or initialling my contributions. This is especially true or the sections Material Culture and the Individual Life Cycle.

It is unanimously our feeling that this ethnographic account is incomplete and inaccurate. Local differences in culture seem to have been marked: informants had quite diverse backgrounds. These, plus the inevitable contradictions of informants, caused confusions which were never resolved. It is our feeling that the culture of the Sinkaietk should be restudied by one who will use these data as merely provisional.

101 The Southern Okanagon now live on and
162 about the western part of the Colville In-
361 dian Reservation. They now number about 250-300. The group is much mixed, both by intermarriage with other peoples for generations and by the inclusion of many individuals of neighboring tribes. Add to this a high mobility, such that most or all of our informants had resided at one time or another with other peoples. Mixture and intergradation of bands and tribes in this area is clearly ancient and only accelerated by the concentration of interior Washington tribes on the Colville Reservation in the middle of the last century. The upshot is that the ascription of various items of culture to particular bands and tribes is exceptionally difficult.

105 The aboriginal culture is now largely a
197 thing of the past. Older people maintain some aspects of their former economic life and material culture. There is some fishing at weirs; some gathering of berries and roots; some casual hunting. A few tipis and sweat lodges are in use; baskets and bark buckets are still made; occasionally a cradle board prepared and hides tanned in the old manner. The simple social structure has been adapted to reservation purposes, but is now nearly functionless. Shamanistic procedures, the winter dance, the Dream cult, and other organized religious activities of the ancient type are gone. Yet, while many are at least nominal Catholics, the old religious outlook, with its emphasis on guardian spirits, prevails to a surprising degree. The language is still functioning. On the whole, they are about as much deculturated as the Klamath or Walapai.

115 The following notes on some of the informants and interpreters were prepared by the members of the party.

know, or had forgotten. 115

Maggie Felix, 24 years old, born at Nkamapeleks [Douglas Lake band of Northern Okanagon ?] and married to an Inkamip man, was all right as an interpreter. I [L.V.W.] did not work with her long enough to train her. She was completely naive, friendly, and intelligent.

David Isaac, aged about 75, was born and grew up just north of Oroville. His mother's mother was of the Penticton band of Northern Okanagon; his father was Inkamip. His father's mother was Northern Okanagon of Oroville; his father's father was Inkamip; his mother's parents were both Penticton.

Margaret Sersepkin is now about 92. She was seventeen or eighteen when she went to the Plains (i.e., about 1855-56), which was six years after a severe earthquake.

We are indebted to Mrs. Martha Flahaut (Washington State Museum) for the identification of plants, and to Mrs. Richard H. Post, A. H. Gayton, and Verne Ray for line drawings. Mr. Ray also prepared the map of tribal distribution. 114

The rendering of native words leaves much to be desired. None of the students had received adequate training in transcription, and Interior Salish is phonetically difficult. Each one followed his own scheme of transcription. I have reduced these, somewhat ruthlessly, to a single notation. The phonetic system printed here follows the simpler system suggested in "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages" (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 66, 1916, No. 6). The vowel series is as follows: 194

a	as in father	á	as in but
ä	" hat	e	" met
é	" fate	i	" pin
I	" pique	o	" not
ó	" note	u	" put
ú	" rule	E, the indefinite vowel	

Glottalized consonants with fortis effect are indicated in the usual way by an exclamation mark after the consonant. Whispered sounds are raised above the line. It is doubtful that the native forms given in this paper are any more than mere approximations.

Leslie Spier

P.5(B)

3; Cline E-5 (1930) 1938 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Sinkaietk

• 114
22b

1/^

6 Mr. Post took part in the building of a weir and first-salmon ceremony near Malott. — L.S.

p. 15 (c)

1/^ [For context of this footnote, see p. 15 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

4: Teit E-3 (1900-1910) 1928 Southeast Salish
Columbia
Wenatchi

passed into the hills on the north side of the river, but some of them settled in the Columbia valley for some distance east of The Dalles. As the country north of them was already fully occupied by Yakima from the Cascades to the Palouse, these emigrants remained in the intermediate country, ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River. These people became known as Klickitat, and were for a time important intermediate traders between the tribes of the coast and the interior. They soon began to range farther west, part of them occupying the country west of the Cascades on the Lewis River, and around Mount St. Helens. After the depopulation of the Cowlitz and other Coast and Columbia River tribes by an epidemic, about 1829, large numbers of them moved into the Cowlitz valley. It seems that the Cowlitz were the principal people with whom they traded in the west, and they were most friendly with them. About this time, or probably earlier, bands of Klickitat, possibly exploring for a new country and trading, and other bands of mixed Klickitat and Cowlitz, bent on raiding and war, had begun to make excursions north, following the west side of the Cascades back of the more populous areas of the Coast tribes, going as far as the Mount Baker region, where they came in contact with the Thompson Indians. They soon gave up the northern expeditions; and part of them began to go south, crossing the Columbia into the Willamette valley, going sometimes as far as the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers. Those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains; while those who remained west of the Cascades, in the Lewis and Cowlitz districts, made their headquarters around Silverdale [Silver Lake?], and became known as Tai'tnapam or Wanukt. When the main body of the tribe went on the Yakima Reservation (after 1858), some of the Klickitat living on the north side of the Columbia below The Dalles, and some of the Tai'tnapam, remained in the places where they had settled, and some of them are still to be found there.

167
131
101

[According to Mr. Melville Jacobs, who studied the Shahaptian Taitnapam near Morton, Washington, in 1926 and 1927, there is no tradition among this tribe of any kind of migration. So far as their memory goes they have been associated with the upper Cowlitz. In the popular use of the term the "upper Cowlitz," (Wanukt) are Shahaptian in language; although the old Cowlitz are undoubtedly Salish. The dialects of the most southern coast Salish of this region bear internal evidences that the Cowlitz were at one time neighbors of the Wenatchi. All the coast dialects beginning with the so called upper Chehalis, and from there northward, use the sounds *tc* in place of the central Salish *k*, and *c* instead of the central Salish *x* or *x̣*. The Cowlitz belong to what might be called the *k* group of Salish dialects in conformity with the adjoining Wenatchi. Without this contiguity the occurrence of the *k* sounds

167
197
101
114

place, and means hawthorn-bushes. The place-name Taix or Tai'x is derived from a legend or myth. A younger brother ascended to the sky at this place, and as he ascended he called, "tai'x, tai'x!" No Indians ever made their home in the Tygh valley, as it is a bad country, full of canyons. The language of the Tyighpam is almost like that of the Klickitat; and the two tribes are said to have been originally one people who lived together, or adjoining each other. Probably the Klickitat moved north before the Tyighpam. In the Snake wars the Snake sometimes attacked in very large parties, and killed many Molala, Tyighpam, and Wasco. Latterly the last two tribes combined, and defeated the Snake in several engagements, killing numbers of them.

As I did not visit any of the Wenatchi bands, I have no data from them relative to movement of tribes. The Wenatchi man I saw told me that he believed people of his tribe inhabited the Yakima country formerly; at least, parts of it, and maybe all. He believed that, generally speaking, they lived in the whole upper Yakima country next to the mountains. In that region now, places have both Yakima and Wenatchi names. The Wenatchi call a place by a name of their own, and the Yakima call the same place by a name in their language. None of my informants from any of the tribes told of any movements of the Nez Percé who seem to have been in their historic habitat for a long time.

The only other tradition of migrations I obtained was that of a considerable number of interior people who crossed the Cascades and settled in the Snuqualmi country, on a prairie about a mile back on the north side from Snoqualmie Falls.[456a] Here the remains of a great number of lodge-sites, most of them underground lodges, could be seen until very lately, about a hundred in all. The name of this place is Soxqo'ko (people gathered together). After intermarrying more or less with the Snuqualmi, and becoming to some extent incorporated with them, part (or the remnants) of these people—consisting of seven families, including the chief—moved down and settled among the Snohomish about five or six generations ago. One old man and two or three descendants are said to have returned across the mountains and settled among the Wenatchi. The names of the seven head men, or heads of families, are preserved by the Snohomish, and show these emigrants to have been interior Salish, the same and similar names being current among men of the Thompson and Wenatchi at the present day. These people were probably Wenatchi, who migrated for some reason or other,—possibly some of those who had been displaced by the coming of the Yakima and Klickitat. Possibly they may have been part of the lost Nekɛtɛmā'ux, as some of the latter are said to have crossed the Cascades to the coast. The names of the seven chief men or heads of families were as given below. I give some Thompson forms of the names, with their meanings, for comparison.

[456a] Mr. Jacobs informs me that on the upper Nisqually a small band of Shahaptians is found, the Mica'l, who speak a dialect closely akin to Pcwa'nwapam, showing that a small movement of Pcwa'nwapam must have occurred in recent years to the west of the Cascades.—F. Boas.